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THE CHURCH in STORY and PAGEANT

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN HADDAM

by

NELSON R. BURR, PH.D.

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SAINT JAMES'S CHURCH
PONSETT
IN THE TOWN OF HADDAM
CONNECTICUT

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*Take my life and let it be
Consecrated, Lord, to thee.*

Dedicated to the memory of the
Rev. Dr. Samuel Farmar Jarvis,
who first attempted to establish the Episcopal Church in Haddam;
and of the
Rev. William Clark Knowles,
founder of Saint James's Chapel in Ponsett.

Rest eternal grant unto them, O Lord,
And may light perpetual shine upon them.
May they rest in peace!

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN HADDAM

by

NELSON R. BURR, PH.D.

HADDAM, OLD AND NEW

On an autumn day in 1668 the high and mighty General Court of Connecticut soberly listened to a dispute about boundaries between Saybrook, Lyme and a place called Thirty Mile Island. The wrangle had been dragging along and patience was wearing thin. Perhaps the best way to settle it would be to have another town, and so Thirty Mile Island was made a town and named HADDUM.

For many years palefaces had been sailing by the green hills south of Middletown. In 1652 Captain John Cullick obtained land there from the Indians, and in October, 1660, the legislature named a committee to purchase the whole region. The deal was closed on May 20, 1662, when four kings and two queens signed away their rights in return for articles probably worth less than one hundred dollars. They practically gave away a huge chunk of land, from the southern limit of Middletown to Cove Meadow in Chester.

The land-hungry Englishmen didn't let any grass grow under their feet. Soon after the so-called "purchase" twenty-eight men from Hartford, Windsor and Wethersfield began to lay out Haddam Street. They were mostly young men — some just married: Nicholas Ackley, Joseph Arnold, Daniel Brainerd, Thomas Brooks, Daniel Cone, George Gates, Thomas Shailer, Gerrard Spencer, John Spencer, William Ventres, John Bailey, William Clarke, Simon Smith, James Wells, James Bates, Samuel Butler, William Corbee, Abraham Dibble, Samuel Ganes, John Hannison, Richard Jones, Stephen Luxford, John Parents, Richard Piper, Thomas Smith, Joseph Stannard, John Webb, and John Wyatt. Some of their descendants are still prominent in town affairs and a few are attending services at Saint James's Chapel.

For a while they were too busy building homes to think of organizing a town, and let their plantation be Thirty Mile Island. It was one street of plain houses on long, narrow lots. But after a few years they had a minister, their families grew, and they wanted to be more dignified. So they asked the legislature to be made a town and chose a name that

reminded them of a quiet old place in the dear green kingdom over the sea, which they still called "home."

Where did they get the name, which ignorant strangers sometimes think is funny or annoying? "I wish the devil Haddam," roared a passenger who couldn't get to sleep as the boat rumbled down the river, taking in freight at unearthly hours, at the great and little Haddams. This is one of those stories that ought to be true. People used to say the name *probably* came from Much or Great Hadham in England. Some years ago the Reverend Doctor Melville K. Bailey of Old Saybrook discovered that there is no *probably* about it. He wrote to an archdeacon of the Church of England in Hertfordshire, who assured him that families in the parishes of Much Hadham and Little Hadham bore the names of some among those twenty-eight adventurers who settled at Thirty Mile Island in 1662. So that is how we got our Haddam, East Haddam, Little Haddam, West Haddam and Haddam Neck — everything but too much Haddam.

The old English Hadhams — Much and Little — are country parishes of Hertfordshire, some thirty miles north of the roaring traffic in London. They are in a "hundred" bearing the delightful name of Edwinstreet, and contain about seventy-five hundred acres — only a quarter of the area in their American namesake. They are more thickly inhabited than our Haddam, and contain little hamlets with half-timbered and thatched houses and quaint names like Church End, Hadham Ford, Bury Green, Green Street, Westland Green, Hadham Cross, Perry Green and Green Tye. They were all one parish until 1875, when Little Hadham decided it had had too much of Much Hadham.

The small parish churches are like pictures from Washington Irving's "Sketch Book" — quaint stone buildings dating from the early Middle Ages, but picturesquely enlarged and altered to suit the taste of later times. Saint Andrew's at Much Hadham is the larger, but Saint Cecilia's in Little Hadham is the ideal church of the American tourist's dream. It has a little side porch with hand-hewn timbers, a carved rood screen, and a high pulpit with old-fashioned candle brackets.

The Hadhams have left a mark in English history. In the early Middle Ages the Bishops of London had lands within their bounds and a residence at Much Hadham. In the reign of King Henry VIII one of the landlords, Giles Capell, was a courtier and went with his king to meet King Francis of France at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. In 1578 his son Henry entertained the witty and gorgeous Queen Elizabeth, who filled the halls of his great house with the rustle and sparkle of her rich costumes. Perhaps he told her that her great grandfather, Edmund Tudor, the Earl of Richmond, was born at Hadham about 1430. In

the civil war between King Charles I and Parliament, three hundred years ago, Arthur Lord Capell of Little Hadham took the royal side and in 1649 was beheaded by the Parliament party. Among the pastors of the churches there have been several men widely known for their gifts to spiritual life, literature or learning.

For centuries the English Hadhams were quiet country places inhabited mainly by tillers of the soil who regularly paid dues to the landlord and tithes to the priest, and went every Sunday to the little stone churches. Hardly did they dream that some day the name of their native place would be borne by a town three thousand miles across the ocean. A town settled by men who had parted from the dear Mother Church of England!

When Queen Elizabeth visited Hadham, England was restless. Not all her subjects were satisfied with her reform of the Church. Many regarded the reformed Church of England as not reformed enough. As neither she nor her successors James I and Charles I would change it to please them, they began to think of founding a church after their own hearts, beyond the sea. There were a few of their opinion in the Hadhams, and the Puritan Congregational church of the new Hadham was the church of their dreams — a church without a bishop and without the stately liturgy which they called "popery."

A Puritan town Haddam remained for generations. As late as 1750 — nearly a century after its settlement — the only churches were the two Congregational ones at Haddam Street and Haddam Neck. East Haddam, set off as a town in 1734, had one at the village, one in Millington, and one at Hadlyme. Practically everyone was a member of some Congregational church, either by baptism or by profession of faith.

A change began about 1740, when the great evangelist from England, George Whitefield, preached in Connecticut and split the Congregational churches into parties for and against him: the "New Lights" and the "Old Lights." Members left the Haddam church and founded a "New Light" or Separate congregation, which finally became the Haddam Baptist Church at Shailerville. The resulting confusion and high feeling opened the road to plenty of trouble and the coming of other communions.

Once the soil of Congregationalism was cracked, other groups began to sow and reap a harvest. Baptists, Quakers, Episcopalians, Universalists and Unitarians gained thousands of converts and finally became so strong that in 1817-1818 they abolished the special privileges of the Congregational churches and secured complete religious freedom in the present constitution of the state.

Episcopalians had been active since 1702, when missionaries began to travel through Connecticut. The first Episcopal church started at Stratford in 1707, and by 1750 there were not less than twenty parishes, served by missionaries sent by the English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The terrific title generally is shortened to "S. P. G." The excitement stirred up by Whitefield turned many people towards the Episcopal Church, which began to appear in places where few ever had even seen a Prayer Book.

Missionaries began to pay more and more attention to the Haddams, especially after a parish (now Holy Trinity) started at Middletown in 1750. One of the busiest of them was the Reverend Ebenezer Pundersen of North Groton. In May, 1750, a long tour took him through East Haddam, where he believed no Episcopal minister had been before. He preached to nearly one hundred people, baptized a child, married a couple and admitted two communicants. In September he preached at Millington and East Haddam, added two more communicants and baptized three children.

His good work at East Haddam, Millington, Middle Haddam and Chatham (Portland and East Hampton) was continued by the Reverend Samuel Peters of Hebron and the Reverend Matthew Graves of New London. About 1766 the Episcopalians of the region hired a lay-reader, Asa Beebe from Yale College. Mr. Graves was tireless and unafraid. In 1767 he spent twelve days at Millington and "Mudus," adding new members and sometimes preaching twice a day. In 1770 and 1772 we find him visiting Moodus, Millington, East Haddam and Chatham several times a year, preaching in houses and administering the Holy Communion. On one occasion there were fifteen communicants and two hundred hearers. In 1772 he gave the Communion to thirty people at Moodus and Chatham.

The invasion aroused the wrath of the Reverend Benjamin Boardman, Congregational pastor at Middle Haddam, who warned Mr. Graves not to take any wool from his flock, nor to enter his parish without permission. As Congregational churches were established by law, they could collect taxes for support. Although some of the people had been Episcopalians for thirty years and used to go sixteen miles to church at Hebron, the collectors forced them to pay and even seized their goods and cattle. Some preferred jail to paying for a minister they never heard.

For Mr. Graves the work was a labor of love, as he endured much hardship, journeying hundreds of miles over bad roads and receiving not even travel expenses, as the people were poor. Once, they provided him with a horse, and once he got a barrel of flour. Those who remember

the state of our country roads even fifty years ago, can well imagine what the poor missionary had to bear!

Due largely to his faith and endurance, by the Revolution the region about Haddam was full of sentiment for the Episcopal Church. The religious census of Connecticut published in 1774 by Elizur Goodrich, Congregational minister at Durham, showed nearly ten thousand Episcopalian in the colony, which then contained slightly less than two hundred thousand people. And some of the largest places, including Middletown, were not included! The rest of Middlesex County reported three hundred and eight Episcopalian: eighty-eight in East Haddam, six in Durham, sixty-eight in Killingworth (including Clinton), ninety in Chatham (Portland and East Hampton), thirty-three in Saybrook (Old Saybrook, Westbrook, Saybrook, Chester and Essex) and *twenty-three in Haddam*. A very tiny minority, but enough to start a church!

The Reverend Abraham Jarvis, rector of the church in Middletown and later (1797-1813) Bishop of Connecticut, used to keep an eye on Episcopalian in surrounding towns. Years later his son, the Reverend Samuel Farmar Jarvis, found among his papers a list of Episcopalian who lived at Maromas and "Haddam-quarter."

During the Revolution the Church in Connecticut suffered severely, as some of the clergy refused to break their oaths of loyalty to the king, others left right after the war, and in some places the churches were closed or neglected for considerable periods. But the Episcopal Church was too deeply rooted to be pulled up, for the vast majority of its clergy and people were natives and really loved Connecticut. In 1784 the far-sighted clergy sent the Reverend Samuel Seabury to Great Britain to be consecrated as the first Bishop of their Church in this nation.

His return was the signal for an amazing outburst of loyalty and growth, especially in Middlesex County. Within fifteen years (1785-1800) parishes grew up at Middle Haddam, East Haddam, Portland, Essex and North Killingworth. About 1802 a little band tried to organize a church in Durham and sent a delegate to the Diocesan Convention. For many years after the Revolution the few Church people in Haddam were unorganized and attended the nearest churches when they could. In 1819 there were a few families in Higganum, and some just across the river in Haddam Neck.

THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY TRINITY

One of that faithful band in Higganum was Mr. William Cook. In 1842 he confided to the Reverend Doctor Samuel Farmar Jarvis of Middletown, that he had been living in Haddam for sixteen years and

had brought up his large family in the Episcopal Church. To get to church he used to hire a wagon, ride five miles over a bad road, and cross the river on a ferry.

Such devotion warmed the loyal heart of Doctor Jarvis, who was a leader of the Church in Connecticut and an authority on church history. While trying to secure subscriptions for his great history of the Church, he met a man from Haddam and inquired whether there were any Episcopalians. That was how he heard about Mr. Cook, who visited him and mourned that one of his daughters, ill for three years, had been unable to attend church or receive Communion.

Doctor Jarvis was one of those men who don't wait to let somebody else do something. Instantly he saw that the time had come to plant his beloved Church in a new soil. He set a date to visit the Cooks, and on March 22, 1843, celebrated the Episcopal service in Haddam, probably for the first time since the Revolution. Next day he administered Holy Communion to Mr. Cook and four of his children. Turning to the father he said "You have a church in your house; why not set up an altar there?" "That," said the devoted Churchman, "is a happiness which I have never hoped for." To Doctor Jarvis that was a challenge. "But you may hope for it; and, by God's grace, it shall be done. . . . I will spend Easter Sunday with you, and on Easter Monday we will organize a parish."

On that day, April 17, 1843, the family and a few friendly neighbors gathered in the Cook home — at eight o'clock in the morning! — and after service organized their little church. The sick daughter sat in an easy chair, supported by pillows. "It must have a name," said the Doctor, "what shall it be?" Mr. Cook turned to the invalid and asked her to name it. "**THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY TRINITY IN HADDAM**," she said — and it was so. The first services in the organized parish were held on Trinity Sunday, with morning and evening prayers and two sermons in the schoolhouse, and litany and Holy Communion at the Cook home. On the following Sunday some of the people organized a Bible class.

The building, where the Church of the Holy Trinity held services for about seven or eight years, is still standing in the village of Higganum, on the south side of the main street. Apparently it is the one formerly known as the East Schoolhouse and now called the Thrift Shop. An excellent map of the village, in an atlas of Middlesex County published in 1874, shows it standing on the present site. The home of William Cook, apparently, also stood in the village.

Doctor Jarvis advocated recognition of the tiny parish at the Diocesan Convention in the following June. As he was very influential

in the diocese, his opinion commanded respect, and the church was admitted into union with the Convention as the CHURCH OF THE HOLY TRINITY, HADDAM. Doctor Jarvis of course was rector, and Mr. Cook naturally became the first lay delegate. At the same time the Convention admitted several other parishes which are still flourishing: Saint James's in West Hartford; Trinity Church, Torrington; Saint James's at Fair Haven; and Saint Gabriel's (now Grace Church) in Windsor. The 1840's were a time of great missionary zeal in the Connecticut Church and new parishes were admitted in quick succession.

Doctor Jarvis was devoted to his "little flock in the wilderness", as he liked to call the parish in Haddam. His work as historian of the Church took him to Europe; but whenever he was about, there was service every Sunday and Communion monthly, and he taught the catechism to the children every Sunday morning. When he could not come, lay-readers took over the ministry. He received valuable and faithful help from the Reverend Henry Beers Sherman, a deacon officiating at the church in Middletown, and from Frederick Sill, a candidate for Holy Orders.

In the first year the congregations varied from fifty to one hundred and fifty and showed a quiet, steady growth. The general tone of the parish reflected Doctor Jarvis's own somewhat "High" type of devotion. Services were held on Ash Wednesday, in Passion Week, and on the great festivals, and generally there were six or eight communicants. In 1844 Christmas and its vigil were celebrated, for the first time in Haddam he believed, "since that blessed event was announced to the Shepherds of Bethlehem." He even attempted to introduce responsive chanting of the psalms in the simple Gregorian mode. The people responded to his fervent spirit, contributing as they could to the cause of missions, and showing a readiness to give their money and labor towards the erection of a church.

Doctor Jarvis always dreamed of building a small church like those in the old Hadhams. In England he secured a handsome Church Bible and drawings of the Church of the Holy Trinity at Roe Hampton. On his return he began to gather funds, and resolved to build whenever somebody would give a lot. He started services at Haddam Street and Chester, and in the latter place obtained a promise of an acre of ground and a generous subscription in money from one person, and offers of contributions from others, to erect a church. For a time he had a vision of parishes with churches at both places. He even begged the diocese to help him raise three thousand dollars for them, and secured a plan for a wooden edifice to cost about sixteen hundred, including stained-glass windows.

To the last he continually advocated a building, as he sincerely felt that services in schools injured rather than helped the Church, by seeming to put it on the same level with even non-religious organizations. "The first step in planting the Gospel," he wrote in 1850, "should be the erection of a Church. Where the Gospel is presented in the simple but sublime solemnities of the Church, there will always be some hearts who will seek to worship 'in spirit and in truth;' and it is such, and only such, who add strength to the Christian fabric."

The vision never was fulfilled. It was difficult even to maintain services in an unfavorable territory, let alone raise money for a building! His work for five years was a labor of love, for which he received only twenty-five dollars. He even walked whenever possible, so as not to be burdensome to the people. Trying to plant the Episcopal Church in Middlesex County in those days was discouraging work, as many another missionary found out. In 1849 Doctor Jarvis declared that for six years he had been working incessantly "in one of the darkest regions and on one of the hardest soils, to which a Christian missionary was ever called." It alarmed him to find that throughout the countryside many people never had been baptized. The religious folk were divided into numerous sects, which seemed to agree only in disliking the Episcopal Church.

His feelings were the more hurt, as he found some intelligent and pious people who favored the Church and would rally to it, if only the diocese would help to build inexpensive churches and send missionaries. The passing of years has not made his situation less familiar. He was encouraged by the friendliness of several families at Haddam, who wanted to join steadily in the services. At Higganum the people were raising funds for the church and for missions, and meeting regularly in the schoolhouse. The average congregation was about forty and several children were shortly to be presented for baptism.

It is amazing that Doctor Jarvis accomplished so much in addition to his duties as historian, which took up all his days except Sundays, and in the face of a serious illness and an accident that might have proved fatal. He fought a losing battle, which probably was the fault of the diocese rather than of the people or their pastor. The last report to Convention was in 1850, and after 1851, when he died, the Church of the Holy Trinity in Haddam disappeared from the list of parishes. Without generous help from outside, the small congregation could not hold together against energetic rivalry of other communions. In 1844, when the work was barely started, the Congregationalists founded a church in Higganum. Six years later a great "revival" encouraged the establishment of a Methodist church. The only clergyman who took a tender interest in the Churchmen of Haddam was Doctor Jarvis himself, and he



THE REV. WILLIAM CLARK KNOWLES

lived miles away in Middletown and was absent much of the time in his historical researches. The Church would never gain a secure foothold in Haddam until there should be a consecrated man "on the ground."

A LITTLE BECOME A THOUSAND

That man was a boy while Doctor Jarvis was carrying on his labor of love. The future Apostle of Ponsett, son of John H. and Tanson M. Clark Knowles, was born on March 23, 1840, in a farmhouse on the south side of the road from Ponsett to Haddam Street, now the home of his son, John Knowles. William Clark Knowles came into a family which had known the Episcopal Church for some time. Apparently the faith came from Wolcott with Lovina Alcox, the wife of William Knowles. They were married in February, 1820, and came to live in Ponsett in the fall. He died in January, 1821, and she in the following March.

Originally the Knowles family had been of the Congregational faith. The first of the name in Haddam, Lieutenant John Knowles, was descended on both sides from settlers of the Plymouth Colony. His wife, Mehetabel Walker, was a descendant of Stephen Bangs, a passenger on the *Mayflower*. Lieutenant Knowles settled at Ponsett about 1742 and became a man of considerable property. The inventory of his estate, in 1752, amounted to over forty-seven hundred pounds, or about twenty-three thousand dollars. The family were extensive landholders in Ponsett, and a small portion of the Knowles property is now the lot of Saint James's Chapel.

When William Clark Knowles was about eleven years old, he must have heard about the little Episcopal congregation in Higganum and the reputation of the great scholar, Doctor Jarvis. As he grew older he probably met some people who had supported Doctor Jarvis in his heroic struggles. At about the age of twenty, he began to feel strongly the impulse that later led him into the ministry. It was greatly strengthened by association with the Reverend Doctor Giles H. Deshon, for many years the highly respected and beloved rector of Saint Andrew's Church in Meriden, where Mr. Knowles worked in the Britannia Company.

Doctor Deshon was filled with the missionary spirit and was a leader in planting the Episcopal Church in Yalesville. He was just the man to inspire the country boy from Ponsett with longings to be a missionary, and later to direct his studies for the ministry. On August 20, 1860, he baptized William Clark Knowles, and on October 22, 1861, presented him to John Williams, Assistant Bishop of Connecticut, for Confirmation. Nearly fourteen years later, February 21, 1875, the same

devout young man knelt before the altar of Saint Andrew's to be ordained as a deacon. He was raised to the priesthood on July 1, 1886, in Emmanuel Church, Killingworth.

At the time of his confirmation he already had begun the mission that resulted in the planting of Saint James's Chapel. It started in the summer of 1861, with a small Sunday School in his home. On the first Sunday in Advent he began regular services as a lay-reader in Ponsett. As he was not ordained, clerical services depended upon the kindness of priests who took a personal interest in the work of such a self-sacrificing young man. Among them were the Reverend Horace B. Hitchings, rector of Saint Stephen's Church in East Haddam, who gave the first clerical service; the Reverend H. T. Gregory, also rector at East Haddam; the Reverend Francis Goodwin of Hartford; and occasionally Bishop Williams, who became head of the diocese on the death of Bishop Brownell in 1865.

As interest slowly increased, clerical services became more frequent.* The old record book, kept by Mr. Knowles for nearly seventy years, shows twelve baptisms other than his own before the opening of the chapel in 1873, by the Reverend Messrs. Horace B. Hitchings and Henry T. Gregory and the Reverend Doctor Samuel Fuller. Before the chapel was built there were six other confirmations by Bishop Williams of Connecticut and Bishop Benjamin B. Smith of Kentucky. One took place in a home, the others at Saint Stephen's in East Haddam, Christ Church at South Farms, and Saint Andrew's, Meriden. The first marriage entered is that of Mr. Knowles to Susannah Cox of Madison, on January 3, 1866, in Guilford, by the Reverend Doctor Lorenzo T. Bennett, rector of Christ Church. The bride came originally from Elham, County of Kent, England.

Slowly the foundations of a parish were laid by Mr. Knowles's capable and steady hands. He was not in a hurry and he built well. His first report, in 1863, mentioned five Episcopalians, one communicant, and a school of six teachers and thirty-four scholars. Services were held twice every Sunday. In figures, the harvest of the first few years looks unimpressive — but when has the Kingdom of Heaven been rated only by the census? The work started in that small way has endured for eighty years!

A decade passed before the pastor and his tiny flock felt equal to erecting a church. On November 4, 1871, he paid fifty dollars to Willard Knowles for the lot on which the chapel stands. At that time it comprised only a quarter of an acre "more or less," but on September 11, 1877, was enlarged by purchase from Willard Knowles of a long tri-

*See list of clergymen at the back.

angular strip on the south side. Only nine days later the pastor, as trustee, conveyed the land and chapel to the Trustees of Donations and Bequests for Church Purposes of the Diocese of Connecticut, "to be held by them in trust until such time as a parish shall be legally organised and admitted as such into union with the diocese."* As there still is no parish, the property remains in the hands of the trustees and cannot be disposed of without their consent. If a parish ever is organized, the property is to be transferred to it, for use in maintaining the worship of the Episcopal Church. The lot is a large triangle, 132 feet on the Killingworth Turnpike, 226 feet on the south, and 261 feet on the highway to the north.

Ground for the chapel was broken on November 5, 1871, the cornerstone was laid in May of the following year, and on May 25, 1873, the building was formally opened for worship by the Reverend Doctor Samuel Fuller of Berkeley Divinity School. He preached on a text from Jeremiah vi, 16: "Thus saith the Lord, Stand ye in the ways, and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls." On that occasion thirteen persons received the Holy Communion.

In the following year the chapel was completed, and the Reverend Doctor Coit of Berkeley Divinity School conducted the opening service. On January 3, 1875, Bishop Williams made his first official visit and administered the Holy Communion to eight people. By 1877 the whole debt of four hundred dollars had been paid, and on November 10th Saint James's Chapel was consecrated in the presence of the pastor. Other clergymen present included the Reverend Professor John Binney of Berkeley Divinity School; the Reverend Doctor Deshon of Meriden; and the Reverend Collis I. Potter of Clinton. What a glad day that must have been for Doctor Deshon, whose thoughts turned to a day seventeen years before, when he baptized that youth from Ponssett! Seventeen persons hallowed the occasion for themselves, by receiving the Blessed Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ.

The chapel stands where the founder wanted it — at a conspicuous crossroads in almost the exact center of the town of Haddam. Although today, at first sight, the location may seem isolated, really it is a choice spot. It is the only place of worship on the road from Higganum to Killingworth, a distance of about ten miles; the only one in the western part of the town. As people tend more and more to move away from crowded cities, the advantages of this location will become clearer. *It should never be abandoned by the Episcopal Church.*

Saint James's displays the influence of the beloved pastor. He

*See Haddam Land Records: Vol. 37, p. 54; Vol. 37, p. 559; and Vol. 38, pp. 199-200.

wanted a building that would be churchly and yet not too foreign to the community or too expensive. He got what he wanted. The style is Gothic, but without the crust of meaningless and tasteless ornament that too often marred churches of the Victorian period. Built in the day of jigsaw art, it is remarkably free from the hideous rash of scrolls, false pinnacles and other gewgaws that usually broke out on churches of the time. The interior is well proportioned, and the steeply pitched roof gives an impression of spaciousness and height. Unusual features are the quaint pews with turned end-posts, and the Gothic wooden screens enclosing the organ and the vestry.

Originally there was no tower, but about 1886 the pastor and people began to want a bell. Three years later the tower was added to the west end and the bell was hoisted with great rejoicings. At the same time came the two memorial windows on each side of the inner door. Other windows, some in memory of departed members, have been given from time to time. At night their colors give the lighted chapel the look of a Christmas-card church out in the snow with the stars looking down.

For many years the people wanted a good organ, but in 1890 the parishioners of Saint John's Church in Essex donated the one which had served them for many years. The present one, which came from Saint Stephen's Church in East Haddam, is a good instrument and was thoroughly repaired in March, 1942. The altar cross, the three-branch candlesticks and the vases came from Saint Luke's in Chester, when that little mission was abandoned in 1937.

As the congregation has been small and not overburdened with riches, changes and improvements to the chapel, and provision for social life, have come slowly. A general painting and redecorating took place in 1898-1899, and it is hoped to have another one for the Old Home Day in July, 1942. There was no parish house until 1938, when the diocese and congregation purchased the Ponsett schoolhouse on the west side of the road. It was abandoned when the town decided to consolidate the smaller schools and transferred the pupils to Higganum. With the provision of a small kitchen, the building now provides a good place for neighborhood gatherings, wedding parties and parish "socials."

Within the last year there have been some minor improvements to the building. The diocese donated new green altar hangings and bookmarks for the great Bible. Burners have been placed on the candles, and an American flag and a service flag have been hung on either side of the triple window above the altar. The sexton has fitted up a library corner to the right of the front door, and a place for a class on the other side; and placed an electric light over the outer front door. The service flag and the honor roll, for men of the congregation and community in

the service of their country, were dedicated at a special service on March 22, 1942.

For many years Saint James's was a lonely outpost in a region which traditionally had not been very cordial to the Episcopal Church. When people in Middlesex County became dissatisfied in the Congregational churches, they were likely to become Methodists, Baptists, Adventists, or even Mormons — indeed, almost anything except Episcopalians! When Mr. Knowles started his little Sunday School, the nearest Episcopal churches were in Middletown, Middle Haddam, East Haddam and North Killingworth. Christ Church in South Farms and Epiphany Church in Durham had not been founded. Haddam really was over-churched; there were not less than eight churches for about twenty-five hundred people — three Congregational, four Methodist and one Baptist. The nearby Methodist church of Ponsett had been flourishing since 1793 and had deep roots in the hearts of the people.

The prospect was not bright — but that did not frighten Mr. Knowles, who took his lay-reader's certificate, rolled up his sleeves and went to work. For the first few years the mission really was a Sunday School, and sometimes months passed without any clerical services. The nearest priests lived miles away over the long dusty roads and had plenty to do in their own parishes. Mr. Knowles fitted up a room and furnished it for services twice on Sunday. The school was the main feature and generally had five or six teachers and from twenty to thirty-five scholars.

With Mr. Knowles's ordination as a deacon in 1875, a marked growth began, for he could minister as a clergyman. He took charge of Ponsett and Killingworth, residing in the latter place, where in 1886-1887 friends provided him with a rectory. Emmanuel Church, being a regularly organized parish, brought him the title and prestige of rector. Ponsett remained an unorganized mission until 1929. At that time it became an organized mission, with its own executive committee, records of meetings, and a delegate to Convention and meetings of the Middlesex Archdeaconry.

After 1875 more complete annual reports to the diocese and the archdeaconry give a deeper view into the inner life of Saint James's. The consecration of the chapel, Mr. Knowles's ordination as priest in 1886, and the association with Killingworth, all gave a degree of solidity and permanence which before had been lacking. Payment of the debt left the people free for new undertakings. The diocese came to the pastor's support with a yearly appropriation of one hundred and fifty or two hundred dollars, and gave him the title of *missionary* for his work in Ponsett. In 1885 friends in and outside of the parish made it easier for him by getting him a horse. His thanks are recorded in his old register.

After 1875 Ponsett tended to grow and Killingworth to decline. At that time Saint James's had twelve communicants, ten families, three teachers and ten pupils. From 1875 to 1941 there were only nine years without at least one baptism, and from 1863 to 1941 there were two hundred and ten baptisms, eighty-nine confirmations, ninety-one marriages and two hundred and seventy-eight burials.* Not bad for a country mission that never has had more than forty families and fifty communicants! Through the many years of Mr. Knowles's ministry, strength was fairly constant, without the marked rises and drops likely to show in parishes of industrial towns. Year after year the school had from ten to thirty pupils and two or three teachers. During most of its history the chapel has depended upon a group of families bound to the pastor by a deep personal loyalty. Few pastors in this diocese ever have known how to call forth such loyalty, better than the Apostle of Ponsett!

His work never was easy. Ponsett was no soft berth. Contributions never were more than five hundred dollars a year, and often were far less. Without some outside aid the mission would scarcely have survived. Moreover, after the Civil War Haddam was a declining town. The war, the rise of city industry, and the opening of richer Western lands drew away so many that parts of the town became places of old people and empty houses. Today, on the back roads, one finds old cellar holes and remains of gardens and orchards, where homes once stood. Some roads have been abandoned and the woods have erased them.

From 2419 in 1880 the population dropped at every census to only 1736 in 1920. Although there has been a gradual increase since that date, largely due to the automobile, the population in 1940 still was three hundred and fifty less than sixty years before! Finding no future in Haddam, sons and daughters of the old families went to the cities and the West. Descendants of one of the author's relatives, Daniel Clark, are scattered from Hartford and New Haven to Chicago and Kansas City. Between 1880 and 1930 six churches in the town closed their doors.

In spite of these discouraging tendencies, Mr. Knowles's hard work brought real progress at Ponsett. From 1875 to 1890 the twenty-nine burials were nearly balanced by twenty-five confirmations and twenty-eight baptisms. After 1890 the picture changed for the worse, as older members died or removed, young people migrated, and nobody came to fill their places. From 1891 to 1906 there were only nineteen confirmations and thirty-four baptisms, against sixty-one burials. These bare

*Statistics in the Journals of the Diocesan Convention. It is difficult to separate the Ponsett records in Mr. Knowles's register, as his clerical acts there are mingled with those in other places.

figures tell an eloquent story of an heroic struggle against appalling difficulties.

As early as 1885 the Archdeacon of Middlesex noted that Ponsett and Killingworth, "situated in a retired part of the State, have not much opportunity for growth," and pointed out the need of aid for a long time to come. By 1891 the appropriation was increased to two hundred and fifty dollars, and from 1892 remained at two hundred for many years. By 1895 it was observed that migration and financial depression were retarding progress, and five years later the report said: "The native population is being displaced by foreigners, making it difficult to maintain the Church and impossible to effect any increase."

But God disposes while men think they see the future, and He ordained that the newcomers should give life to a church apparently threatened with death. Only eight years after that discouraging report, Mr. Knowles already was finding his work "mostly among Bohemians and other strange peoples . . . who look to him as a Pastor to care for their sick and to bury their dead." After 1909 the increased work at Ponsett compelled him to give up Emmanuel Church in Killingworth and to concentrate upon Saint James's Chapel and missions elsewhere in Haddam.

The new work, inspired by his missionary zeal, was in answer to a call from that long reach from Haddam Street to Chester. Since Doctor Jarvis's time there had always been a few Episcopalians along the road, and after 1890 the decline of the Baptist church in Shailerville and the settlement of European immigrants made the region a good missionary field. Saint Paul's Mission, Shailerville, began about 1891 in the Barker's Hall building, which used to stand opposite the present residence of Mr. Peter Carini, Treasurer of Saint James's Chapel. The work there lapsed about 1899, with the sale and demolition of the building, and the last minister was Mr. J. Chester Case, a lay-reader.

Mr. Knowles became interested in the neighborhood in May, 1901, when holding services for Saint Luke's Mission at Chester. From March to October, 1902, he revived the old mission by holding evening services every two weeks at Haddam. The first meetings were in Sherman's Hall and store building, which still stands at Arnold's Station. About 1909 the mission moved to the Ezekiel Shailer place, below the top of Mill Creek Hill on the turnpike, then occupied by Deaconess Tileston. At one time there was a congregation of about twenty and a school with two teachers and twelve pupils.

That tiny mission, which brought many into the Church, was supervised by Archdeacon Oliver H. Raftery and conducted mostly by student lay-readers from Berkeley Divinity School in Middletown.

Among them were Arthur S. Peck, Charles T. Hall, and James W. Lord, now rector of Saint John's Church, East Hartford. Sometimes it was served along with Saint Luke's in Chester. Mr. Knowles used to go down to Shailerville in the evening, and celebrated Holy Communion and performed other duties there, occasionally going also to Saint Peter's Mission in Deep River. About 1909 services were held by a lay-reader from Trinity College, and Deaconess Tileston had meetings in homes, with a priest coming as often as possible. It was hard work, as the Archdeacon called the region "a neglected piece of country . . . an old Baptist stronghold, with little life left except enough to prolong religious prejudices."

About 1910 the Reverend George B. Gilbert took over the region, along with Killingworth and Saint Andrew's Mission at Maromas, as Deaconess Tileston after a year of service moved to the Diocese of Western Massachusetts.* Mr. Gilbert continued services in a schoolhouse, distributed literature and secured a good congregation. In 1911-1912 the work largely shifted to Tylerville, where Deaconess Tileston had started a mission school, maintained by Mrs. Ellis Bishop and Miss Jackson of Middletown. It flourished about ten years and brought many children and grown-ups to baptism.

The Tylerville Mission, called Saint Philip's, met in a schoolhouse on the old Chester Road, which has been moved to the opposite side nearer Chester and converted into a dwelling. There were still occasional meetings at the Shailerville schoolhouse, which also has been moved a short distance from the main road and made into a house. Saint Philip's for a while flourished, with a Boy Scout troop, lectures, preparation for baptism and confirmation, and social service among the Italian, Polish and Danish people who were reclaiming the land there. About 1917 Mr. Gilbert revived the Shailerville Mission, with services on alternate Sundays and an increasing number of baptisms and confirmations. His impulse even made the old Baptist church reopen, after being closed for ten years. By 1919 he was carrying missionary work at Tylerville, Killingworth, Maromas, Chester and Ivoryton. About 1920, however, Tylerville was discontinued as a separate mission and united with Saint Stephen's Church in East Haddam.

Those little missions, aided more or less by the diocese, never bulked large in mere figures. They never had more than thirty families, forty baptized persons and eight or nine communicants, two or three teachers and twenty pupils in Sunday School. The fruits of such work never are really lost. They trained many souls in the Church's ways, and a few

*In the 1942 "Annual" Deaconess Mary W. Tileston is recorded as in residence in Peking, China.

are still attached to Saint James's or some other Episcopal church.*

In recent years the impulse of the Episcopal Church has been felt in the Candlewood Hill district. In May, 1939, the Reverend Frederick F. H. Nason, Rector of Grace Church in Hartford, purchased the Spencer place for a summer home and parish camp. The old tool house became a chapel, named Saint Mary and All Saints, where during the camp season there are daily morning and evening services. Whenever the Rector is at Holy Rood House, the angelus is rung at noon and at six o'clock, on the bell given by Nelson R. Burr in memory of his mother Elizabeth. The altar was given by Saint Andrew's Church at Northford. It is hoped that some day the chapel may become a mission for the people in Candlewood vale who live far from church, and who say that they like to hear the bell and see the candles shine on the altar.

While the little missions were running their course, Mr. Knowles continued his apostolic ministry in Ponsett as long as his health permitted. About 1909 he was seriously ill, but his recovery gave him nineteen more years of active service. By 1912 his labors among the immigrants were becoming so important that he was almost a foreign missionary. Until about 1890 one finds in his register only the old British and Irish names like Knowles, Clark, Burr, Spencer, Richards, Davis, Merrill, Skinner, Pickett, Fenn, Hubbard, Stevens, Binney, Norton, Dickinson, Hotchkiss, Rathburn, Bristol, Tooley, Burdick, Brainerd, Scranton, Wright and Kelsey.† After 1900, however, the Bohemian, Italian, Polish and other names from Continental Europe appear increasingly beside those of the early settlers.

Year after year the pastor toiled patiently — visiting, helping, advising, sitting by sick beds, marrying and burying. In 1914 the Archdeacon called it ". . . a work of patient planting that occupies little space in Journal reports and looks to other times and hands for the harvesting." The harvest is now evident in the names of the children in the most recent confirmation class — a cross section of the nationalities that are mingling to make modern Connecticut a real democracy.

It is the more remarkable that Mr. Knowles carried the burdens of Ponsett, and even inspired other missions, at the age when most clergymen think of retiring. In 1915 he was mentioned as the oldest priest in service in the diocese — he was then seventy-five! And yet, in 1914 he found time to publish the only history of the district ever printed — his "By-Gone Days In Ponsett — Haddam," with its interesting map

*The records of these missions are to be found in the registers of Saint James's, Ponsett, and Saint Stephen's, East Haddam, and in the Middlesex Archdeaconry records kept by the Rev. George B. Gilbert.

†See the names of communicants in the years 1883-1888.

showing all the old roads and homes and its collection of traditions concerning the people.

His cultivation of the newcomers yielded rich spiritual returns. Between 1906 and his retirement from active service in 1928, there were one hundred and eleven baptisms, thirty confirmations, and fifty-one marriages, all largely among the new families. What he did is a standing denial of the overworked assertion that the Episcopal Church can appeal only to people of British ancestry and traditions, and does not attract people from Continental Europe.

For about five years after his so-called "retirement," the venerable pastor still was in his accustomed place when the weather and his health permitted. The Reverend George B. Gilbert occasionally took the services, when Mr. Knowles was ill or the winter was too severe, and in the winter of 1926-1927 was aided by the Young People's Fellowship of Trinity Church in Portland. In the autumn of 1927 the people celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the consecration. Bishop E. Campion Acheson confirmed six persons, present and former members and friends filled the chapel, and many clergymen presented their congratulations to Mr. Knowles.

He died, it may be said, in the odor of sainthood, on April 28, 1933, and the throng at his burial was such as Ponsett never has seen before or since. At the Diocesan Convention in June, Bishop Acheson with his usual skill blended a rare tribute to his ministry with a plea for little churches which this diocese ought never to forget.

"Fifty-three years of active life in the ministry as a clergyman, increased to seventy-two, if counted from the year he was made a lay-reader in 1861. For years he walked eighteen and twenty miles each Sunday over rough roads in summer, wet roads in the spring and early winter, and snow-blocked roads in winter. He helped to build the Church, and ministered to people of all faiths and those of no faith, giving of the little he had to help those who had less.

"We need men of this stamp today. The Church must minister to the rural population in forms acceptable to them and in ways that meet their needs.

"Farms have been abandoned, houses have decayed, little mills of industry have fallen to pieces, the little Church still remains. It ministered to the people all through the years. Now new roads are opened, city people are buying up land. New houses are appearing here and there. The gay automobile party flashes by, and the small Church with its doors open, seems to them a curiosity. It was there before they were born; it will be there when they are gone. Who supports it they do not ask, nor does it interest them. The social and spiritual life of that com-

munity is tied to that little Church. It grew there, is nurtured and cared for, and from these places year by year there go out into towns and cities men and women to keep pure the blood and life of the State."

To demonstrate these facts in his life and ministry, was the great service of the Apostle of Ponsett. He realized that the great city churches, without renewing their life from the small towns and villages, would wither and die. Recent surveys of our population show the truth of his insight. On the average our cities have only seventy-six births for every one hundred deaths, while the country has one hundred and thirty-six! It is not hard to see where the future church members are coming from. And this is the reason why Bishop Acheson wanted more priests like Mr. Knowles, and why the Church will suffer without them.

In 1929 the principal burden of the work in Ponsett was shouldered by the Reverend Leon Alverden Mansur, recently ordained as a deacon. He had charge also of Christ Church in Middle Haddam and Saint John's Mission in East Hampton. For an ordinary man, that would mean spreading energy pretty thin. But Mr. Mansur was not ordinary. He plunged into the work with a zeal that probably contributed somewhat to his early and deeply lamented death on March 23, 1935. Among other things, he made excellent use of the Church Army: a column from the Cathedral in Hartford spent four weeks in his parishes in the year 1929-1930, visiting outlying districts and doing much lasting good.

During Mr. Mansur's ministry the services in Ponsett were well attended, and the school flourished, with from two to four teachers and more than twenty scholars. In 1931 the Archdeacon of Middlesex declared that if at any time the rector of one of the city churches should want somebody to speak on the Church's rural work, he would heartily recommend Mr. Mansur! By 1932, in spite of the severe economic depression, the chapel was meeting its ordinary expenses and overpaying its contribution to missions.

Mr. Mansur literally lived for his churches, and his death was a severe shock to them. The work at Ponsett passed to the Reverend Richard E. Page, Rector of Saint Stephen's Church in East Haddam. Although many miles away, he visited the mission regularly, and secured for it the altar cross, vases and candlesticks from the abandoned Saint Luke's Mission in Chester. For a time the services were conducted by the Reverend George B. Gilbert, who helped greatly in securing the parish house. In 1939 the field was transferred to the present priest-in-charge, the Reverend Winfred B. Langhorst, Vicar of the Church of

the Holy Advent in Clinton.*

Mr. Langhorst has instituted a monthly Holy Communion and kept a careful record of the services since 1939. In his absence the Sunday services have been maintained by two lay-readers, Mr. Theodore P. Moser of Clinton and Dr. Nelson R. Burr of Grace Church, Hartford.† Since October, 1941 the Sunday School has met regularly after the morning service, and now has thirty-six pupils on the roll, with an average attendance of about twenty. On April 12, 1942 a class of fifteen was confirmed by the Rt. Reverend Walter H. Gray, Suffragan Bishop of the Diocese. The attendance on Sunday mornings recently has ranged from twenty-five to forty, and during Lent, 1942, there were three special Thursday evening services with good attendance. With the proper fostering care of the diocese, and the hearty co-operation of the devoted people, the chapel should be what Bishop Acheson and Mr. Knowles expected it to be — the center of the community's social and religious life.

*Mr. Langhorst left Clinton June 26, to assume the rectorship of Saint Ann's Church, Nashville, Tennessee.

†Dr. Burr has become a member of the staff of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

CHRONOLOGY

1662 — Settlement of Haddam
1668 — Incorporation of the town
1702 — Episcopal missionaries began to visit Connecticut
1740 — The great revival of religion
1750 — Episcopal missionaries visiting around Haddam
1774 — Religious census: 23 Episcopalians in Haddam
1784 — Consecration of Samuel Seabury, first Bishop of Connecticut
1819 — Episcopal families in Higganum and Haddam Neck
1843 — Founding of Holy Trinity Church in Higganum
1852 — Parish dropped from the list
1860 — Baptism of William C. Knowles
1861 — Sunday School started at Ponsett, Mr. Knowles confirmed
1863 — First report of Ponsett mission to Diocesan Convention
1866 — Marriage of Mr. Knowles to Susannah Cox
1871 — Ground broken for Saint James's Chapel
1872 — Laying of the cornerstone
1873 — Formal opening of the chapel for worship
1875 — Mr. Knowles ordained as a deacon
1877 — Consecration of Saint James's Chapel
1886 — Mr. Knowles ordained as a priest
1889 — Tower erected and bell installed
1898-1899 — Painting and redecoration of the chapel
1902 — Founding of Saint Paul's Mission, Shailerville
1911 — Founding of Saint Philip's Mission, Tylerville
 NOTE: these are the nearest dates of formal organization
 and recognition by the diocese
1927 — Celebration, 50th anniversary of the consecration
1928 — Retirement of the Reverend William C. Knowles
1933 — Death of the Reverend William C. Knowles
1935 — Death of the Reverend Leon A. Mansur
1939 — The Reverend Winfred B. Langhorst in charge
1942 — 70th anniversary of the laying of the cornerstone

**STATISTICS
AT IMPORTANT PERIODS**

Years	Families	Members	Communicants	Teachers	Pupils
1863 (1)		5	1	6	34
1875 (2)	10	13	12	3	10
1886 (3)	16		22	2	15
1889 (4)	16		26	2	12
1898 (5)	19	57	33	1	17
1906 (6)	25	50	31	1	10
1911 (7)	22	69	30	2	15
1917 (8)	22	74	28	3	30
1928 (9)	17	161	34	2	21
1935 (10)	34	78	36	4	21
1941 (11)	23	39	20	1	18

From 1863 to 1941 there were 210 baptisms, 89 confirmations, 91 marriages and 278 burials reported to the Diocesan Convention, from the Journal of which the above figures are taken.

- (1) First report to the Diocesan Convention
- (2) Mr. Knowles ordained as deacon
- (3) Mr. Knowles ordained as priest
- (4) Additions and improvements to the chapel
- (5) The chapel painted and redecorated
- (6) 20th anniversary of Mr. Knowles's ordination to the priesthood
- (7) 25th anniversary of the same
- (8) The World War
- (9) Retirement of Mr. Knowles
- (10) Close of ministry of Mr. Mansur
- (11) Last available report

CLERGYMEN

1750-1775 — Rev. Messrs. Ebenezer Punderson, Samuel Peters and Matthew Graves, missionaries at North Groton, Hebron and New London, the last two assisted by Mr. Asa Beebe, lay-reader.

1776-1813 — Rev. Abraham Jarvis, first as rector at Middletown, and from 1797 as the Bishop of Connecticut.

1843-1850 — Rev. Dr. Samuel Farmar Jarvis, rector, Church of the Holy Trinity, Higganum; assisted by the Rev. Henry Beers Sherman, deacon, and Mr. Frederick Sill, candidate for Holy Orders.

1861-1886 — Until ordination of Mr. Knowles to the priesthood, clerical services by the Rev. Messrs. Horace B. Hitchings and H. T. Gregory of East Haddam; Francis Goodwin of Hartford; Rt. Rev. John Williams; Rev. Dr. Giles H. Deshon of Meriden; Collis I. Potter and Peter L. Shepard of Clinton; and the Rev. Professors Thomas W. Coit, John Binney, Samuel Hart and Samuel Fuller of the Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown. Mr. Knowles assisted them as lay-reader, 1861-1875, and as deacon, 1875-1886.

1886-1933 — Rev. William C. Knowles as priest. Retired from active service in 1928, in later years assisted by the Rev. Messrs. George B. Gilbert and Leon A. Mansur.

1929-1935 — Rev. Leon Alverden Mansur, also in charge of Christ Church in Middle Haddam and Saint John's Mission in East Hampton.

1935-1939 — Rev. Richard E. Page, rector of Saint Stephen's Church, East Haddam; and Rev. George B. Gilbert of Middletown, also in charge of Emmanuel Church, North Killingworth, Saint Andrew's Mission in Maromas, and the Rockland Community House, Madison.

1939-1942 — Rev. Winfred B. Langhorst, also in charge of the Church of the Holy Advent in Clinton and Saint Paul's, Westbrook.

RECORDS

REGISTERS: There are three volumes. The first, Mr. Knowles's original book, covers the years 1860-1928, and contains baptisms, confirmations, communicants, marriages, deaths and funerals; also copies of deeds to the chapel property, contributions, and some parochial reports. The original copy is in the Connecticut State Library, Hartford, and a photostatic copy is in the hands of Mr. John Knowles at Ponsett. The second volume, covering the years 1875-1931, contains baptisms, confirmations, marriages and funerals. It is in the State Library. The third volume is kept by the Rev. Winfred B. Langhorst, Clinton. The State Library has also a notebook, kept by the Rev. William C. Knowles, containing entries for Ponsett and Killingworth, a few baptisms, marriages, deaths and funerals, communicants, miscellaneous notes, and a brief history of Emmanuel Church, Killingworth.

MINUTES: There is one volume, beginning in 1930, kept by Mrs. Clinton Hubbard of Higganum, secretary of the Executive Committee. Apparently there is no previous volume.

FINANCIAL: Kept by Mr. Peter Carini, Treasurer, Shailerville.

SERVICE RECORD: One volume, beginning in 1939, kept by the Rev. Winfred B. Langhorst, Clinton.

JOURNALS OF THE DIOCESAN CONVENTION: from 1843, contain reports on the Episcopal Church in Haddam, since the founding of the Church of the Holy Trinity. The reports for Saint James's Chapel begin in 1863, and after 1902 there are reports for the missions at Shailerville and Tylerville. Records for these missions are to be found also in the books of the Middlesex Archdeaconry, kept by the Rev. George B. Gilbert of Middletown.

The old records of Emmanuel Church, Killingworth, are in the State Library. Those of Saint Luke's Mission at Chester are in the Archives of the Diocese at Christ Church Cathedral, Hartford.

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